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For the United States to ratify the treaty without ratifying the League of Nations would, it seems to us, bring us willy nilly into vital relations with such questions as mandates in Africa, Asia, and on the seven seas; with the government of the Saar Basin, the control of the free city of Danzig and of Polish communications. We would necessarily be concerned with such matters as the supervision of the international waterways of Europe and with various other matters inextricably interwoven with the treaty and the Covenant of the League.

### DISARMAMENT

ENTIRELY commendable and most encouraging have been the recent efforts of statesmen, of economists, military leaders, and journalists of this country and of nations abroad to concentrate public thought upon "disarmament" as a practical method of reducing the fiscal burdens of men, burdens now so intolerable because so crushing. Seldom has journalism shown its highest range of possible social service as convincingly as the *New York World* has done with its gathering of world opinion favorable to immediate concerted governmental action reducing military costs. Credit also is due to Senators Borah and Walsh for projecting the issue into congressional debate, and thus forcing public consideration of the facts and inducing a reaction on the part of the people that will give the lawmakers some notion as to what the American people really want to have done.

The differences of opinion that have been disclosed, either in newspaper interviews or the debates, seldom have to do with the principle involved. There is practical agreement that there should be diminished armament with reduced taxation. Only when the question emerges as to whether the process shall be universal in range or limited, or whether it shall include land as well as naval forces, or whether it shall be a summary or a gradual act, do nations or publicists disagree. Moreover, in all their minds there is lurking beneath the surface expression of their thoughts, the dread of a social transformation after the Russian model. This unconsciously shapes their decisions as to reduction of military forces. Moscow, they have found out, does not play the game of war according to rules. Her word is mistrusted. The statesmen of Europe dare not be as idealistic as they otherwise might be nor as economical as they should be, because they now are carrying on international affairs faced by a power with a social structure and social program that are hostile to what western Europe has conceived to be essential to civilization. For them Russia is the ponderous obstacle to reduced armies and navies.

The situation in the United States is not quite as complex or ominous, and if Europe only had to be con-

sidered the disarmament "drive" would have more force. But Asia has arrived. The Pacific Ocean henceforth is to be the scene of our most acute national rivalry. The willingness or unwillingness of the United States to reduce its fleet, curb its present building program, and come to an agreement with Great Britain and Japan as to their respective national naval forces in the Pacific region, all hinges on retention of a spirit of good will between Japan and the United States, following whatever decision may be made as to rights of the Japanese as immigrants and as landholders.

We are not in favor of special compacts, partial in their range, dealing with this important phase of the peace movement. The process should be general in scope and inclusive in its range. It must be so devised as to avoid making the already strong nations stronger and the already weak less able to resist aggression. It should be a gradual and not a summary process, and take into account some present commitments that cannot in honor be ignored.

Most important of all, the "drive" needs conscience as well as commercialism back of it. Reduction of tax burdens, setting free for constructive purposes vast sums now paid for military upkeep, and return to creative industry of millions of men—these are all desirable. But a higher motive for disarmament is needed than these imply, if the fight for peace is to be won ultimately. There must be widely diffused love of right rather than might, of reliance on an international court rather than on an international army, and steady hatred of combat, especially the kind that modern applied science now makes possible.

### OVERSEAS CARRYING BUSINESS

THE OVERSEAS carrying industry of the world has had its center now here, now there. Within modern history, once it was in Spain, once in Holland, once in the United States, once in Britain, and now it looks as if it were to be again in the United States. None of human endeavors is more filled with romance and significance than this transportation of the world's goods, particularly across the seas.

One wonders what bearings the rapid development of American ship-building is to have upon future international relations. During the year just ended, the output of the American shipyards has been 1,783 vessels of 2,860,725 gross tons. In 1918 our output was 821 vessels, 460 of which were steel, 361 of which were wood, all sea-going vessels. In 1919 our total output of sea-going vessels was 1,135 vessels, 802 of steel and 333 of wood. In 1920 our output of such vessels was 507 of steel, 121 of wood, while the total number of our non-